

WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!



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### ANNOUNCEMENT

The Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Turkey informs you with a deep grief that we unexpectedly lost Comrade İ.Bilen, Chairman of the Communist Party of Turkey, an outstanding functionary of the working class of Turkey, international communist and workers' movement.

Comrade Bilen passed away due to a heart failure after an operation on November 18, 1983 at the age of 81.

*Political Bureau  
Central Committee  
Communist Party of Turkey*



## **IN MEMORY OF COMRADE İ.BİLEN**

The working class of Turkey, our people, the Communist Party of Turkey, the world communist movement and our friends all over the world have lost one of their heroic sons, Comrade İ.Bilen, Chairman of the Communist Party of Turkey. Comrade Bilen passed away unexpectedly on November 18, 1983 at the age of 81. Comrade Bilen, a fervent defender of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism an unprecedented organiser, a great patriot and an internationalist is no longer among us. He devoted all his life to the party of Mustafa Suphi, to the interests of the working people of Turkey, to the ideals of independence and revolutionary renewal of Turkey and to the cause of communism.

Comrade Bilen was born in Rize, on October 18, 1902, in a family of a commissioner in navy. After his secondary education, he began to work as a machinist in Haliç dockyard, one of the first beds of the working class of Turkey. When he was 18, he joined an organisation founded by the young workers working in the samework place with him and he participated in the liberation movement against Entente armies and against internal reaction. Comrade Bilen joined the armed struggle in the ranks of this organisation and got wounded in the winter of 1920. This young fighter of the liberation struggle was nominated as a party member by the Haliç Committee of the CPT in March 1922.

Since then, up to the day of his death, during 61 years, Comrade Bilen fulfilled all the tasks assigned by the party without any hesitation, with a great enthusiasm and creativity. He undertook all kinds of responsible party tasks from the basic units up to the highest organs of the party.

Comrade Bilen completed his Marxist-Leninist education in Moscow in the Communist University of Working People of the East under the name of "Marat". Today, the older generation of our party, old friends of Comrade Bilen and many great fighters of the international communist movement also know him with the name of "Marat".

Right after his return to his country in 1926, Comrade Bilen was assigned as an organiser in the organisational work of the party. In the years when Adana Provincial Committee was being organised, Comrade Bilen observed more closely the courageous and fighting personality of the Anatolian people and felt deep affection and humanist feelings for his people. During this time, Comrade Bilen played a great role in the struggle against a liquidation movement which wanted to destroy the party and against "legal Marxist". In the face of a crisis created by the petty-bourgeois elements and the agents infiltrated into the party leadership, took the initiative of forming a temporary central committee in 1927.



The life of Comrade Bilen is a life of hard struggles under the conditions of heavy repression, surveillance, long imprisonments, exile and being a political refugee. After his short period of arrest in 1928, he was arrested again in 1929 and imprisoned up to the end of 1933.

While Comrade Bilen was in prison, the 4th Congress of the CPT appointed him as a member of the CC. And in 1934, while he was on the way to be exiled, he succeeded to escape and participated in the Plenary Meeting of the CC. He was elected secretary of the CC by the Plenary Meeting. Comrade Bilen personally directed the organisational and propaganda activities of the party up to the end of the year of 1937. He organised the foundation, publication and distribution of party publications such as the central organ of the CC "Hammer and Sickle", "Bolshevik", "Red İzmir" etc.

In all that period, he made significant contributions for the party in directing the struggle waged against the Turkish bourgeoisie and big land owners who again intended to collaborate with imperialism, the struggle for the interests of the working class, the peasantry and the toiling people. He participated in the elaboration of the party line in relation with warning the national democratic forces, against increasing danger of a war and mobilisation of pro-fascists and realization of the unity of national democratic forces. In that period, in the increasing influence of our party among the masses, organisational work of Comrade Bilen played a special role.

By the end of 1937, the party appointed Comrade Bilen as a representative of the CPT in Comintern. During the years of his work in Comintern, Comrade Bilen met well-known functionaries of world communist movement, above all Dimitrov, Kuusinen, Pieck and Gottwald. During the hard days of Great Patriotic War against Hitler Germany, Comrade Bilen performed a tireless work of exposing the real face of the pro-fascist Turkish governments to the broad masses. There is a determining contribution of Comrade Bilen in elaboration of a party policy of anti-fascist and anti-imperialist front.

In 1951, the reactionary Bayar-Menderes regime, taking off its mask of "democrat" did not wait long for an attack against the CPT. This attack, as it was stated by Comrade Bilen was connected with the policy of opening the doors of the country to the US imperialism and dragging the country into Korean War and tying it to NATO. Comrade Bilen worked tirelessly during the years of "cold war" among the people for peace and friendship, especially for re-establishment of Turkish-Soviet friendship, achievement of national and democratic renewal of the country.

After the years when the CPT got heavy wounds, 20 years of work of Comrade Bilen, especially his primary role in foundation of "Bizim Radyo" was a determining factor in pushing back the intention of the bourgeoisie to destroy the party totally.

Just after the decision of the PB of the CC of the CPT on May 24, 1973, on strengthening the party leadership and re-organisation of the party by making use of the favourable conditions appeared in the country, in the year of 1974, Comrade Bilen was elected General Secretary of the CC of the CPT. Comrade Bilen founded Atılım the organ of the CC on January 8, 1974 and he was directly in charge of preparation of a new programme, a statute of the party and organisation of a new party cadres.

Under the leadership of Comrade Bilen, our party defeated the policy of isolation of the party and driving it out of the political life, the policy of anti-



Marxist and petty-bourgeois elements. He bought up and organised new fighters from the working class and students with the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism and patriotism. He disseminated among the masses the ideals of peace and socialism and joined, guided the struggle of Kurdish people against oppression, exploitation, against all kinds of injustice with everything in his power. Under the leadership of Comrade Bilen, the party, despite its illegality has become the indivisible part of the political life, a powerful weapon against imperialism, fascism and chauvinism and its respect in the international arena has grown.

A period of ten years, between 1973-1983 became a period of raising the capabilities of making forward leaps in every field, getting ideologically and politically matured, gradually gaining the trust of working class and the masses, learning to fight under every condition, succeeding in re-organisation of the party against each attempt of destroy of the party from inside and against the most severe anti-communist attacks. This period is indivisibly linked with the name of Comrade Bilen.

Comrade Bilen not only worked for the revival of the party. At the same time, he secured the preparations of necessary conditions for solvation of the task that could not fulfilled all along 51 years, the task of convening the 5th Congress of the party. One of the greatest services of him was providing the party with reliable cadres on the basis of constant struggle against all kinds of right and left opportunist trends appeared inside and outside the party. In the Plenary Meeting of the CC of the CPT in April 1983, he made a proposal of formation of a new party leadership and appointment of Comrade Haydar Kutlu, General Secretary of the CC. April Plenary Meeting has approved this proposal and due to his inestimable work all along 61 years of his party life, make use of his rich experiences, elected Comrade Bilen as Chairman of the Party. Comrade Bilen was re-elected as Chairman in the 5th Congress of the party with heart-felted approval of all delegates.

Comrade Bilen will take his place in history of our party above all as a great founder of the party who raised the CPT to a new stage, played a determining role for creation of a new generation in the ranks of the communist movement of Turkey. He always considered Lenin's words "There is no other weapon in the struggle rather than an organisation of the working class" as a guide for himself.

Comrade Bilen will remain in the history of the international communist movement and in the consciousness of the working class of Turkey as a fervent defender of proletarian internationalism, as an example of sincere love and loyalty to the CPSU and the Soviet Union. All along his life, he worked for peace and friendship among the people. This work of him was greatly appreciated by the international communist movement. Orders he was awarded by the fraternal communist parties are the proofs of this.

All communists of Turkey who learned from Comrade Bilen the meaning of a party membership, principiality, a determined internationalist, having unlimited love for the Soviet Union and glorious October, waging an uncompromising struggle against the class enemy for the interests of the working class feel great pain. The party has lost its teacher. It will reach to the victory by using what it has learned from Him.



Members of the CPT! Young daughters and sons of Comrade Bilen!  
To raise the memory of our Comrade Bilen, rally in your ranks on the line  
of the 5th Congress.

*Central Committee  
Communist Party of Turkey*

## STATEMENT

The fascist junta, together with the Denktaş clique in Northern Cyprus heavily violated the UN resolutions and the will of the people of Cyprus, took an extremely dangerous step in direction of division of the island.

The Evren dictatorship and the pro-monopoly press are trying to impose on the people that declaration of so-called independent Turkish state in Northern Cyprus would be in favour of the Turkish Cypriots and a great national victory has been achieved.

In reality however, division of Cyprus will be harmful for both, for the Turkish Cypriots and for the people of Turkey. Those who benefit from this is only the imperialists with the intention of turning Northern Cyprus into their economical and military spring-board and their collaborators, local monopolies.

Adventurous attempt of the fascist junta in Cyprus is not dissociated from the plans of the USA and NATO on mounting tensions in the region and by this way to strengthen its military existance in the Mediterranean. Now, the danger of our country to be dragged into a war is grown further. Both, Turkey and Cyprus have become more open for the impositions, presure and inter-ferece of the US imperialism and the heads of NATO.

While the peace in the region and in the world is in serious danger as a consequence of the aggressive policy of the US imperialism, it is the task of every patriot to prevent creation of a new spot of tensions in the Mediterranean.

The Communist Party of Turkey defends immediate withdrawal of so-called declaration of independence and beginning of inter-communal talks. A just, peaceful and lasting solution of the Cyprus question can only be achieved on the basis of principles of independence, non-alignment, territorial integrity and sovereignty of the island. All foreign troops, including Turkish Armed Forces should be withdrawn from the island. The island should be demilitarized. Today it is more obvious that for the solution of the problem, convension of an international conference under the supervision of the UN is necessary.

The Communist Party of Turkey is in full solidarity with the people of Cyprus, with the party of the working class of Cyprus, fraternal party AKEL. It is the task of every patriot, every peacelover to warn our people against chauvinism of the fascist junta and the collaborating bourgeoisie, to defend friendship and fraternity between Turkish, Cypriot and Greek peoples.

The CPT calls upon all patriots to raise their voices with everything in their power against adventurous steps of the junta, to stop the division of Cyprus and falling the island into the hands of imperialism and NATO.

*November 16, 1983*

*Central Committee  
Communist Party of Turkey*



**SPEECH MADE BY HAYDAR KUTLU:  
GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE CC OF THE CPT  
ON "VOICE OF THE CPT"**

Comrades,

We have been separated from Comrade Bilen, a militant member of our party, an experienced leader, an outstanding son of the international communist movement and a tireless communist. Our grief is so great.

Comrades! Rally around the ranks of our party more closely! Comrades! Raise the glorious banner of our party further up! Comrades! Strengthen the respect and influence of our party in our working class and in the toiling people, in the international communist movement! Keep the memory of Comrade Bilen alive!

Dear Comrades,

We are living through such days that our happiness is mixed with sorrow. Enthusiasm and the joy of the 5th Congress embracing all our organisations, members and sympathizers and the grief of Comrade Bilen departed from us, sorrow of Comrade Deniz who was brutally killed a year ago, not being among us- all are mixed together.

Comrade Bilen lived through the 5th Congress. He saw that the CPT has gained further strength with the 5th Congress. He felt the excitement and happiness more than everyone with the success of the 5th Congress. If our Comrade Deniz was alive, he would have felt the same joy.

They would not want to see us, the communists, the members of the CPT in mourning. It is not a time for mourning. We will keep their memory by turning our grief into determined struggles, turning the spark of anger into the light of consciousness to enlighten our way. We shall keep their memory in such a way.

Comrade Bilen lived through the good days of our party as well as the bad ones. We can say that the most important of all for him in last years was convenion of the 5th Congress of the CPT and its conclusion with the honour of pride. The history is so wonderful that it recognized this chance for us and for him. His presence in the 5th Congress and having him among us lessens our grief in some extent.

We have learned a lot from Comrade Bilen. I had the opportunity of working close to Him. A close and warm comradely relation was created between us. We were such friends who ate and drunk from the same plate and shared every pain and happiness. As for all comrades, this will remain in my heart as a warm memory that will never be erased.

However comrades, what is left from Comrade Bilen is not only memories. We learned from Him above all, undestructable loyalty to the party and revolutionary optimism even in the most difficult situations, even in the most gloomy days. Comrade Bilen had never lost his confidence in stronger a CPT even in the most difficult periods. He also witnessed that his hope was materialised. To strengthen the CPT further... Comrades that means to keep the me-



mory of Comrade Bilen and Comrade Deniz who devoted his life for our party.

Ruling classes forced Comrade Bilen to a refugee life for long and tiring years. His mind and heart however was always in the country, among the working class and the people. He used to have deep anger and hatred for the enemy and unlimited love and confidence in our people. The CPT will never lose this revolutionary spirit. Our party wages a struggle on the soil of our country. ~~Despite~~ the onslaught it roots in the working class and the toiling masses.

Comrade Bilen had always injected to our party uncompromising loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, friendship and fraternity for the country of Lenin and its party. Each success of the international communist movement and of real socialism always filled him with a great joy. This understanding and loyalty is the character of the CPT, its tradition. Our party in future too will not depart even an inch from this line, from the only correct and tested line in the concrete struggles of life. The CPT is the chief enemy of anti-Sovietism, anti-communism and main defender of the unity of communist movement. The CPT is the most determined defender of the national interests of our people. The communists will advance on their path as fervent patriots and unhesitating internationalists. We will never leave the tested and tried weapon of the international communist and workers' movement, Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Anti-communist and anti-Soviet chauvinist onslaughts of the bourgeoisie, its mendacity on freedoms various made-up reasons of the revisionists and renegades will not divert us from our correct way. We will raise this banner further up.

Comrades, November 6 elections boldly brought out the opposition of our people against the fascist dictatorship. Now the strong opposition of our people irritates the generals. Today, if the generals are worried about giving opportunity of forming government to T.Özal and his party who is the chief servant of the imperialism and collaborating monopolies, the reason is their awareness of anger of the people. They are afraid that this opposition will force Özal even to do things that they will not be able to control fully and this could not bridle the desire of the people for a change.

What does it bring about? The fascist dictatorship can not carry on its brutality without a civilian mask. But it can not be successful even in preparation of a civilian mask. The fascist dictatorship vacillates among contradictions. This situation creates historical opportunity above all for the left forces. That should be seen without a delay. The masses are in search for concrete way of solution. They are looking for the political forces that they can rely on in relief from the present situation that they have never been satisfied. This demand of our people has never been such clear. On the line of the 5th Congress, the CPT will make every effort for all national democratic forces to reach an agreement on a common platform, for creation of a united alternative and above all, for the unity of left forces.

Despite all repression and threat of the fascist Evren dictatorship, the masses who did not say "Yes" to the impositions proved that they embody a potential for a nation-wide resistance. Today it is more apparent that the realization of the task of organising a nation-wide resistance against imperialism, fascism and chauvinism by Kurdish, and Turkish, all people is not a dream. Developments testify the line of our 5th Congress which put forward this task. In the coming period, despite all promises of Özal, protest of the broad masses against destructive consequences of the deepening economic crisis, against pressure and imposi-



ons of the US Administration will grow further. The masses will see more clearly the absurdness of the promises of Evren-Özal partners on transition to democracy, on continuation of violation of trade union rights and political rights, continuation of fascist repression, terror and martial law. The opportunity for Turkish and Kurdish working people to start a struggle independently from the ruling classes, a struggle for job, bread, for peace and democracy, for national rights and freedoms will increase further. The task of the communists, left forces and of other democratic forces is to utilize all these opportunities for achieving the unity of masses for peace and democracy and prevent them to be deceived once more by the false champions of democracy.

Fulfillment of this task is closely connected with the task of preventing a danger of a nuclear war in which our country aimed to be driven in by the US imperialism.

The fascist dictatorship stepped up chauvinism with the allegation of declaration of independent state in Northern Cyprus. They want to confuse people with this. It is observed that some progressive circles are affected by the chauvinist propaganda and not being able to grasp that behind the declaration of so-called independence lies the selfish interests of imperialism, NATO and the anti-popular interests of collaborating oligarchy. It is the task of communists and of left forces to make ineffective the poison of chauvinism incited by imperialism and spread by the fascist dictatorship.

We should reply to those who talk about the right of self-determination of the people of Cyprus: You are demagogues and liars. Aren't you the ones who let alone mentioning the right of self determination of the Kurdish people, did not even recognise their existence and suppressed, tried to annihilate the Kurdish people for years? Actually, you do not want to recognise the right of self-determination of the people of Cyprus consisting of Turkish and Greek communities, you want to divide the island, to give an end to the independence of Cyprus. You want to turn Cyprus into a military base of imperialism and NATO and to create a new hot-bed of war.

We must constantly expose these realities to the masses in order to prevent them to be confused and their protest against the junta to be weakened, to stop the conditions for a nation-wide resistance to be wiped out and to disperse the clouds of war hanging on our country.

Leaders of the Peace Committee of Turkey have been sentenced to imprisonments based on made-up reasons, because they opposed the annihilation of mankind in a nuclear war. Those who struggle for peace were sentenced while asserting that "we are passing into a democratic regime" We should not allow those who want to destroy mankind to hide themselves behind the mask of democracy. Enemies of democracy and peace are the same.

Comrades, It is more vital than ever to make every effort to raise the struggle for peace. The US Administration and NATO governments who trail in the wake of it last week began deployment of new nuclear missiles in West Europe. They rejected all constructive proposals of the Soviet Union by trying to hide themselves behind all kinds of lies. They heavily trampled upon the desire of their own people. Now the danger directed to world peace has grown further. As we know, the US scheme also contains the plan of deployment of Pershing-2 and similar type of missiles in the soil of Anatolia in the new round of arms race started by the USA. And for materialisation of these plans, Washington and its collaborators in Turkey will mount anti-Sovietism and the slander of "Soviet



threat" further up.

The Soviet Union is the fortress of peace. It is the main force for protecting the mankind from a danger of a nuclear war. It is the evil-days' friend of our people. We shall make every effort to prevent this reality to be covered.

Comrade Bilen was a vivid link of the chain connecting our party to the past. Our 5th Congress that he made the last effort of his life for its realisation assures this connection. It wiped out the dirty hands trying to extend our history. Our Congress has owned up Comrade Bilen as well as all leaders who worked for our party, from Mustafa Suphi, Ethem Nejat, Şefik Hüsnü up to Yakup Demir. And from now on who-ever intends to attack upon the memory of Comrade Bilen and of our other leaders will find us before him.

Comrade Bilen has strengthened and handed over this glorious trust which was handed to him by Mustafa Suphi and other previous leaders to us, to the new generation who raises many self-sacrificing communists like Comrade Deniz. We shall hold high the glorious banner of the CPT further up.

Our working class, our people, our party will not forget Comrade Bilen!

Long live Comrade Bilen!

Long live the CPT!

Long live Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism!

(Abridged)

November 27, 1983

## ON THE NEW PROGRAMME OF THE PARTY

*From the CC Report read in the 5th Congress of the CPT by Comrade Haydar Kutlu, General Secretary of the CC of the CPT*

New economic, political and social developments both, in the international arena and inside the country obliged us to elaborate the strategy of our party again and to determine the present immediate political tasks to be put forward.

What we mean here is that the tendency of imperialism, especially the ruling circles of NATO headed by the US imperialism, torpedoing detente, mounting nuclear arms race and confrontation with the socialist countries, suppressing the national liberation movements by force and the tendency of "social revenge" against the working people in all capitalist countries have been elevated to a new level. That is the mad-like policy pursued in all countries, especially in countries like ours being at the periphery of imperialism, fanning reaction and conducted in parallel with the policy of "Crusade against Communism" started by Reagan.

Escalation of the danger of a nuclear war to a new level has a multi-sided effect on the struggle in our country against the fascist dictatorship, connection between the struggle for peace and for overthrowal of the dictatorship and formation of national democracy becomes more direct.

Another main factor forcing us to alter the party programme first of all, is the rule of Turkey today under a fascist dictatorship. That not only sharpened the social and national (between the Kurdish people and the Turkish bourgeoisie) contradictions in the society, in addition, created a sharp, day-to-day political contradiction between the fascist dictatorship of the collaborating oligarchy



and the broadest social and political forces. The urgent political task facing the party therefore has undergone changes. Now the task of defending and broadening the democratic achievements gained by making use of all opportunities given to the working class and the people by the parliamentary regime is replaced with the task of overthrowal of the fascist dictatorship. In other words, the path of advancing towards the first stage of a revolution which is an integral process has changed.

It is obvious that the immediate task of overthrowal of the fascist dictatorship itself will not resolve the contradiction that has to be resolved by the people of Turkey, the contradiction between imperialism, collaborating oligarchy and the people and also the national bourgeoisie.

The task facing the party ~~and the~~ working class is to start the democratic people's revolution with the broadest sections who is to overthrow the dictatorship. And for this it is necessary to put forward the task that to be fulfilled at the first step of the mentioned revolution, and unite the broadest forces around the aim of solving these tasks. For that reason, there appears the necessity of a minimum programme in order to overthrow the fascist dictatorship and direct this change to the first stage of the revolution, therefore enabling the alliance of broader forces in comparison with the past. The National Democracy Programme approved in the Plenary Meeting of the CC in April 1983 is the product of this necessity.

As it can be understood, national democracy is the first, beginning step of the anti-imperialist democratic people's revolution and following this step, radical anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly, democratic transformations paving the way for socialism will be realized and the first stage of the revolution will be completed.

With the reason that the action programme approved in the Plenary Meeting of the CC starts the solvation of the tasks ting of the CC starts the solvation of the tasks which are the characteristics of the first stage of the revolution, The CC included this first step into the draft programme. It can be understood that it is impossible to consider this first step or the stage of the revolution separately from the stage of its completion.

...Some people have the opinion that talking about steps and stages in the revolutionary process would not be a revolutionary position. Of course, there is no point of talking much about this tendency which was put forward by the Trotskites. Its absurdness is already known. Nevertheless, its effects on the consciousness of many good intentioned people should not be underestimated. Now of course, our party's consideration about the first step of an anti-imperialist democratic people's revolution is an evaluation which is difficult to understand for them.

The thesis in connection with transition of the democratic revolution from various stages in itself and its gradual development to the socialist revolution is the ~~bright~~ thought of Lenin's theory of the socialist revolution and it is testified with the experiences of all revolutions. V.I. Lenin, in his articles written after the February Revolution in 1917, stated that in the development of the bourgeois democratic revolution in Russia into a new and a "special stage" could appear. The Bolsheviks, even when they put forward the task of a socialist revolution, they waged a struggle for elevating into a new stage the bourgeois democratic revolution which was completed in content with overthrowal of Tsarism and the bourgeoisie coming into power. As known, this struggle was expressed in the slogan of transition of the power from the temporary bour-



geois government into the workers and soldiers' Soviets. Moreover, can there be anything more correct and clever to start working for a revolution with the tasks to be fulfilled rightaway, urgently rather than with maximalist aims ? Here comrades, that is all to be said about for the national democracy as a beginning ~~stan~~ and the first stage of the revolution in our draft programme.

Our party programme is based on concrete analysis of capitalism. Characteristics of development of capitalism in Turkey, structural crisis and their influence on the revolutionary process has been evaluated in detail in our theses...

In the analysis of capitalism, our starting point is the Marxist-Leninist theory, its teachings in relation with general regularities of capitalism, Lenin's theory of imperialism and the political economy of the contemporary world capitalism. Capitalist development in Turkey, despite all its specifics, justifies this theory as a whole. The conclusion we arrived at follows: It is out of theory to talk about a capitalism which is specific of Turkey only and exists nowhere. The capitalism in Turkey was born in the yoke of the Ottomann feudalism and gradually transformed into the prevailing mode of production. Today in the yoke of it is the concentration and centralisation of capital and monopolization.

Secondly, it is important to establish correct connections between the present level of development of capitalism and the main trends in its development. To start from the present concrete data and consider the main trends of development as a secondary factor result commentation the capitalist development unilaterally and showing it more backward than it is. On the contrary, absolutism of the main trends of the development and being satisfied with the comparison of the present stage with the past drives one to the opposite conclusions, calls up the thought of Turkey being in the last stage of capitalism, in the stage of monopoly capitalism, in the imperialist stage. On the other hand, it is necessary not to break the dialectical connection between the productive forces and relations of production. It is not sufficient to explain the capitalist development in Turkey only from the point of or primarily with the degree of development of productive forces and bring out its backwardness. This leads to for example monopoly type of relations not to be noticed. But if one is satisfied only with evaluation of this type of relations of production, this time existence of present monopoly type of relations drives us to the idea that Turkey has reached to the imperialist stage. In explaining the characteristics of the development of capitalism in Turkey, we must take the question multisidedly. In our analysis, we should take into account all characteristics which are typical of Turkey. That is what has been tried to be done in the Theses. As for the conclusion we arrive at can be summerized as follows: Turkey is a agricultural-industrial country taking place at the lowest line of medium developed countries. Dominant mode of production in Turkey is capitalism. Relative backwardness of productive forces, multi-structured nature of production, and dependence are the characteristics of Turkey's capitalism. Strengthening the positions of private capitalist monopoly capital which increases its influence on the state enterprises every other day is the main tendency in the economy of Turkey.

Thirdly, It is necessary to take into account the connection between regularity of uneven development of capitalism and the place of Turkey's capitalism in the world capitalist system ( in division of labour ) in order to make realistic provisions in regard with development of capitalism.-that is obligatory for the revolutionary strategy of the party. Because a vulgar conclusion as in medium developed and dependent countries capitalism does not develop is not affir-



med by the history of our country. The practice testifies the law of unequal development. The rate of growth in Turkey between the years of 1960 and 1970 is higher than many other countries. Even the present state is characterised as stagnant, our theory does not disinclude such developments for future. We must add to this the fact that in the face of socialism imperialism is forced to give some compromises to the exploited countries such as Turkey. Despite these factors, the dependent place of Turkey in the imperialist system, as being an agricultural-industrial country, its place in the capitalist division of labour (unequal development of industrial products at the expense of agricultural ones), not having the strategical raw material and energy resources enabling him to change this place proves that actually Turkey will not reach to the level of developed countries and remaining in the frame of capitalism the gap between Turkey and other countries will never disappear.

Conclusions and provisions we arrive from these statement are:

-It is wrong to underestimate the potential of development of capitalism in Turkey. With the development of capitalism, the main contradiction of capitalism, the contradiction between social character of production and its private appropriation, between labour and capital will sharpen further. Alongside with this contradiction, another contradiction springs up from it, a contradiction between the monopoly capital and non-monopoly classes and strata will become more acute. The capitalist development will make the contradiction between ownership of big lands and the peasants will be more antagonistic. The contradiction between the Kurdish people under national oppression and the collaborating oligarchy will be more acute with the capitalist development which deepens the regional inequalities.

-Development of capitalism in Turkey does not alter its dependent and backward place in the world capitalist system. The gap between developed capitalist countries and Turkey will continue to deepen in defiance of Turkey. For that reason, unescapably the contradiction between imperialism and the people of Turkey, and national bourgeoisie will be sharpened.

-Crisis of capitalism developing under the conditions of dependence, relative backwardness of productive forces and multi-structurality has a structural character and it is continuous. It is out of question for Turkey's capitalism to develop on a relatively peaceful and stable path. On the contrary, it can develop by sharpening all these contradictions. On the other hand, in the face of strengthening of real socialism, deepening of general crisis of the world capitalist system, interweaving of periodical crisis with the general crisis makes the world capitalist system instable as a whole. In presence of the power of the real socialism, constant zigzags appear in the policy of imperialist countries. This situation becomes a factor unprecedentedly increasing the social, economical and political instability of Turkey who is in the aggressive military block of imperialism.

All these, causes and will cause strengthening of the revolutionary process, but its unequal and contradictory development, increasingly sharpening of the class struggle, join of various classes and strata in the revolutionary process, and broadening of its base, but negative conditioning of instable elements, shrink of the class base of the state apparatus and difficulties in ruling on the part of ruling oligarchy, state apparatus becoming more reactionary, its militarisation and becoming aggressive, social and political crises following each other.

From the point of the strategy of the party, we drive important conclusions from this analysis.



Firstly, There are minimum material prerequisites for socialism in Turkey,. This will be the objective foundation for the revolution to develop as an integral process.

Secondly, the ball of contradictions in the yoke of Turkey's capitalism shows ..... the revolutionary process will proceed on two main stages (anti-imperialist, democratic, popular and a socialist stage).

Thirdly, The deep instability of capitalism in Turkey and instability in political superstructure caused by this indicates that the first stage of the revolution (determined by characteristical goals which are forced by the balance of forces at that moment) will be completed by passing through some stages in itself.

Forthly, unity of the leading forces and potential forces of revolution in a front is possible and a necessity. On the other hand, interests of those who join the revolutionary process necessitates the alliance with the socialist countries.

Fifthly, merging of the interests of non-proletarian classes and strata with the interests of working class and irresoluteness of the national bourgeoisie who joins in the potential forces of revolution enforces and enables the leadership of the working class.

Sixthly, deep crisis stemming from the conditions of the state power becoming more reactionary and dominance of imperialism on Turkey obstacles the revolution to progress in a peaceful way.

Seventhly, all these proves the great and increasing importance of subjective factor in the revolutionary process and points out the main question in preparation of the political army of revolution as to strengthen the CPT.

Past ten years gave us the opportunity to drive above conclusions.

Information

## **TURKEY IN THE FACE OF INCREASING DANGERS**

A trial which was carried on for more than one and a half years in the military courts of Istanbul Martial Law Command, a trial which is characterised as a shameful event of our days, trial of the leaders of the Peace Committee of Turkey has ended with 8 years of imprisonments of 18 and 5 years of 5 peace fighters. While the sentencing of Peace Committee leaders was strongly protested by democratic public opinion, it once more exposed the anti-peace face of the fascist dictatorship in Turkey.

This onslaught directed to the peace forces of Turkey can not be considered separately from the war provoking plans of Washington which were followed step by step by the military junta of Turkey. Imprisonment sentences of Peace Committee leaders once more proves that the junta can drive our country and our people to adventures in accordance with the plans of the USA and for the selfish interests of the US imperialism.

As a matter of fact, in the days followed by sentence of Peace Committee leaders and in the days while deployment of nuclear missiles has started in



number of West European countries and a new round of arms race was started by the USA, it is not accidental that an organisation called Social and Political Research Foundation (SİSAV) organised a so-called "Disarmament and Peace Seminar" at the end of November. The actual aim of this meeting in which many speakers were either US military experts or NATO generals was to prepare the public opinion of Turkey for further armament by use of old, worn-out weapon so-called "Soviet threat".

One of the participants of the meeting, Johannes Steinoff, ex-chairman of Military Council of NATO and a well-known nazi general of Hitler stated: "Turkey needs the help of its allies in order to meet the growing "Soviet threat" and continued: "Turkish army is the second important army of the alliance. At the same time it is the poorest one from the point of military equipment." (Tercüman, November 27, 1983) He also emphasised the 'importance' of Turkey as "In the sphere of NATO, one of the three important strategical points is the eastern region of Turkey. This forgotten front is the shortest way from the point of Soviets to reach the Middle East and to the heart of Turkey." (Günaydın, 27 November, 1983). Dr. Angelo Codevilla, the US Senate member boldly put forward the aim: "It is necessary to protect the conventional weapons which are extremely expensive. This protection can only possible by means of nuclear missiles... Otherwise there is no meaning of modernisation of the Turkish army" (Günaydın, November 27, 1983) Moreover, he also proposed a military plan to be prepared by Turkey and when Turkey tells its needs, they all would certainly be met.

The recent meeting of SİSAV was the clear proof of Turkey's place in the second part of the US plans on deployment of new nuclear missiles in Europe. It once more signalled that the USA aims to deploy similar type of missiles in Turkey also and intends to turn Turkey into a factor of threat against neighbouring peoples of the region. Increasing dangers in face of Turkey was stated by Comrade Haydar Kutlu General Secretary of the CC of the CPT in his speech made in the Plenary Meeting of the CC in April 1983 "It is known that, the US plans are schemed on deployment of nuclear missiles in Turkey following their deployment in West Europe. If these missiles are deployed in West Europe, in the second round of arms race, Pentagon, who is after a military superiority will want to deploy them also in Turkey".

Why is one of the biggest Turkish daily, Hürriyet banned?

**Hürriyet**

**VEFAT**

61 yıllık onurlu yaşamının, 61 yılını bu uğraşa adanmış üstün insan, öğretmenimiz

**MARAT İSMAIL'İ**

yitirdik. Acımız derindir. Ondan öğrendiklerimiz bizi, BİLEN'in genç kız ve oğullarına yol gösteriyor.

**DOSTLARI**

There was a small piece of advertisement in Hürriyet on November 29, 1983. (on the left) It writes: "Our teacher, MARAT İSMAIL who devoted 61 years of his 81 years of life for this work passed away. Our grief is so great. What we learned from him leads us, the young sons and daughters of BİLEN. -His friends" Because of this advertisement publication of Hürriyet was banned by the Martial Law authorities.



### TO THE 38th NATIONAL CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

Esteemed comrades,

On behalf of the CC of the Communist Party of Turkey and the communists of Turkey, I wish great success to the 38th National Congress of the Communist Party of Great Britain.

Your Congress takes place on days where the most aggressive circles of US imperialism threaten peace, the security and freedom of the peoples in the world, the efforts to deploy new US missiles in Western Europe, including Great Britain, have been intensified and the Thatcher government is a partner of these nuclear war preparations. Your Congress takes place under conditions where the attacks of the big capital on the working class and the toilers in Great Britain take new dimensions and the crises in the capitalist world deepens further. The Communist Party of Turkey wishes the 38th National Congress of the Communist Party of Great Britain to be a milestone in its struggle waged against all these, in adopting important resolutions and implementing them for the benefit of the working class and the toilers of Great Britain.

The Communist Party of Turkey, which under the conditions of the military fascist dictatorship and of increasing hegemony of US imperialism in Turkey did not stop its struggle even one second, intensifies its efforts to realise the unity of the left forces and of the broadest possible democratic forces in order to organise step by step the national resistance against the fascist regime and US imperialism.

The Communist Party of Turkey which works under deep illegality repelling barbaric repression is bound with the Communist Party of Great Britain on the basis of internationalist solidarity and common goals of struggle fraternally.

November 12, 1983

With our communist greetings  
Haydar KUTLU  
General Secretary  
Central Committee  
Communist Party of Turkey

### TO THE X. CONGRESS OF THE PORTUGUESE COMMUNIST PARTY

Dear comrades,

On behalf of the communists of Turkey and the working class of our country, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Turkey sends to the X. Congress of the fraternal Portuguese Communist Party its revolutionary greetings.

Your Congress takes place at a time, when the most reactionary and aggressive circles of US imperialism seeks for world hegemony and military superiority over the socialist countries, tries to bridle the struggle for national and social liberation of the peoples by the force of arms, violates the principles of international law in a most rough and heavy way, and while the efforts for deployment of new US missiles in Western Europe have been intensified. The efforts to make use of the Portuguese territory for the US Rapid Deployment Forces presents great dangers for the people of your country. We are sure that the X.



Congress will be an important step towards peace, disarmament, and friendship and solidarity among the peoples.

Your Congress takes place at a time, when the reaction in Portugal, ignoring the results of April 1983 elections, intensifies its efforts to destroy the achievements of the April Revolution, to restore the monopolies and the latifundias, to drop the standard of living of the working people further down by restricting their rights and freedoms, to increase the external debts and consolidate the dependence on imperialism of the country. The communists of Turkey are convinced that the policy defended by the Portuguese Communist Party is the sole alternative policy in order to save Portugal from economic crisis, to improve the living conditions of the people, to defend the democratic achievements and laws, and to guarantee the national independence. It shares with you the view thoroughly that without the participation of the Portuguese Communist Party none of the nation-wide problems of Portugal can be solved.

Comrades,

The 5th Congress of the Communist Party of Turkey which fights under the conditions of the military fascist dictatorship and deep illegality put before our party the task of uniting the broadest possible forces in order to safeguard world peace, to prevent our country to be dragged into the war adventures of the US imperialism in the Near East and to overthrow the fascist dictatorship. The 5th Congress of the Communist Party of Turkey adopted a series of important resolutions in relation with organisation of a nation-wide resistance against fascism and imperialism. It approved the new party programme and the statute. The communists of Turkey, fighting under severe conditions, stated that without participation of the Communist Party of Turkey none of the nation-wide problems in Turkey can be solved. They make every effort to strengthen the Communist Party of Turkey further more.

Comrades,

The Portuguese Communist Party and its heroic members who have fought also under fascism and illegal conditions for long years are on the front line of the solidarity movement with all forces of Turkey who are under repression, tortures and persecutions. We would like to convey to You our thanks on this occasion for your solidarity with the forces of peace and democracy in Turkey. The Communist Party of Turkey is tied with the fraternal Portuguese Communist Party on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Let the X. Congress of the Portuguese Communist Party be a turning point along the path of our common goals and common cause.

Long live the Portuguese Communist Party!

Long live Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism!

December 15, 1983

Haydar KUTLU  
General Secretary  
Central Committee  
Communist Party of Turkey

## TO THE 5TH CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF TURKEY

Esteemed Comrades,

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union conveys its fraternal greetings to the delegates of the 5th Congress of the Communist Party of Turkey and to all communists of Turkey.

This Congress is an important event for your party who wages a struggle under deep illegality, constant repression and persecutions of the police. Your Congress will consolidate the achievements gained during the period of intensification of political and organisational activities of the party and help to strengthen the ranks of the party organisationally and ideologically. Moreover, the Congress will elaborate the future tasks of the struggle of the communists of Turkey for the vital interests and rights of the people, for



peace and democracy, against the policy of imperialism and the reaction about turning Turkey into a military base of aggression of NATO in the Near and the Middle East, against the Soviet Union, other socialist countries and peace-loving peoples.

The Soviet communists know that the Communist Party of Turkey has always remained and will remain very loyal to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, wages a persistent struggle for peace, against war, for the unity of the international communist movement.

We highly evaluate the efforts of the Communist Party of Turkey for strengthening peace and friendship among our peoples, giving the necessary response to the anti-Soviet propaganda of bourgeoisie and dissemination of realities of the peaceful foreign policy of the Soviet Union, the socialist community, the CPSU and the real socialism.

Dear comrades, we convey our fraternal solidarity to you and wish you greater successes in this hard struggle.

Long live the Communist Party of Turkey!

Long live Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism!

Let the peace and friendship among the peoples of the Soviet Union and Turkey to be strengthened further.

Central Committee  
Communist Party of the Soviet Union

### **GREETINGS MESSAGE OF THE CC OF THE BULGARIAN COMMUNIST PARTY TO THE 5TH CONGRESS OF THE CPT**

Esteemed Comrades,

The Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party conveys its wholehearted, fraternal greetings to the delegates of the 5th Congress of the Communist Party of Turkey and all communists of Turkey.

The CPT held high the banner of struggle for defence of the interests of the working class and the people of Turkey for more than 60 years. During all this period, she always remained loyal to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The CC of the BCP highly evaluates the persistent struggle of the CPT for unity of all democratic and progressive forces in the fight for peace, democracy and national independence which are reflected not long ago in the "Action Programme" of your party. We greet your efforts in the direction of unity of all left forces on the basis of Marxism-Leninism which is a significant condition for the victory of the struggle of the working class.

The party of Dimitr Blagoyev and George Dimitrov, Bulgarian communists who are in solidarity with you, wish you new successes in materialisation of teachings of Marxism-Leninism.

Comrades,

Under the leadership of BCP, our people carries on successfully the construction of socialist society. Bulgaria who was the symbol of backwardness up to the near past is now a country who has a stable and dynamic economic development, constantly raising culture and education and increasing standard of living. For nearly 40 years, our country does not know what a crisis or unemployment is. Poverty remains as a bad memory. Socialism in Bulgaria put an end to the exploitation of man by man, created a large potential of production in the limits of our capabilities. Only in last ten years, in the years between 1970 and 1980, economic power of the country has been doubled. Today, industry of Bulgaria produces less than in three years what was used to be produced in the pre-war years, in the year of 1939. The 12. Congress of BCP approved a broad content programme for further development of socialist society in our country. Despite the intensive efforts of international imperialism to drive our country into instability Bulgaria will continue to develop



itself with a high speed in all fields. Now, all efforts of the party and the people is directed to realisation of the main task put forward by the 12. Congress on the basis of intensification of the people's economy, use of scientific recoveries and perfection of socialist type of social relations to meet fully the increasing material and moral needs of the people.

Comrades,

Your Congress takes place in a complex present situation in the international arena when the most reactionary, aggressive circles of imperialism, the USA and NATO intensified their efforts to establish their global domination, to increase tensions, and to step up arms race. The danger of a nuclear destruction has never been greater than before. President Reagan has started an anti-communist "Crusade" against socialism, against revolutionary, national liberation movements and against all democratic, peace-loving forces. Imperialism fans the psychological war in an unheard dimensions, conducts the most vulgar and disgusting campaign of slander. It conducts an attack against real socialism from the opposite front. With this attack it aims at striking a destroying blow to the whole communist movement, to all forces of the world for democracy and progress. In order to nullify all aggressive plans of the US imperialism, for preservation of peace and secure all gains of intelligence and labour of the mankind, this danger forces full mobilisation of all peace-loving forces. Today the most important question is the question of being or not being of the all peoples and classes. The ideal of socialism means peace, friendship and cooperation among peoples. That is the desire of overwhelming majority of the world population.

Prague Declaration of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation countries and the recent peace initiatives of the Soviet Union that are the determining factors in the struggle for peace and progress is a constructive platform for briddling arms race, decreasing tensions and wiping out the danger of annihilation of the mankind.

BCP who is loyal to principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism pursues a persistent policy for peace, understanding, mutual benefit and cooperation, makes active contribution for strengthening the international communist and workers' movement, gives full support to the progressive revolutionary forces who fight against imperialism and reaction for national and social liberation.

The policy of the BCP, the policy of peace, good neighbourhood and cooperation in Balkans always remains as an unchanged element of the foreign policy of the Peoples Republic of Bulgaria who never has any claim of land from its neighbours and wants to live with its neighbours in the atmosphere of peace and understanding.

The US imperialism draws new aggressive plans in regard with our region in recent periods. Under this circumstances the proposal of Comrade T Jivkov on creation of a nuclear free zone in Balkans gains more urgency. Realisation of this important initiative is not only in accordance with the interests of the peoples of Balkans but at the same time is an important contribution to improvement of international atmosphere.

Dear Comrades,

We believe that the 5th Congress and its resolutions will occupy an important place in the life of the Communist Party of Turkey. Of course, the Congress will make a contribution for strengthening the party, broadening and deepening its influence. We believe that the communists of Turkey will be more active in the struggle for well-being of the people of Turkey, for strengthening peace and cooperation among the peoples of our region and the world.

While wishing successful and fruitful work for your congress. We believe wholeheartedly that traditional fraternal relations between the BCP and the CPT will further strengthen and develop in the favour of peace and cooperation among the Balkan peoples.

Long live the Communist Party of Turkey!

Let the fraternity between the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Communist Party of Turkey, between the peoples of Turkey and Bulgaria to strengthen further!

Long live communism!

*Central Committee  
Bulgarian Communist Party*



## TO THE DELEGATES OF THE 5TH CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF TURKEY

Esteemed comrades,

The Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany conveys its solidarity and fraternal militant greetings to the delegates of the 5th Congress of the Communist Party of Turkey.

This Congress is an important event and a turning point in the history of your party. On the occasion of your congress, we, the communists of the German Democratic Republic once more emphasise our fraternal ties with the communists of Turkey on the basis of common ideals, Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The members of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany closely follow the heroic and self-sacrificing struggle of the Communist Party of Turkey for peace, democracy and social progress, despite the hard conditions of terror and persecutions.

The socialist Unity Party of Germany believes that the most urgent task of today is to make everything in power to prevent a nuclear destruction as a result of adventurous, unprecedented armament and conflicts policy of the most aggressive circles of the USA and NATO. It is necessary to nullify the deployment of new death missiles in NATO countries and the interference policy of the USA imperialism in Near East and in other regions of tension.

For that reason, The Socialist Unity Party of Germany emphasizes its readiness for joint action with all parties and social forces who defend common ideals for peace and progress.

In the direction of understanding of a close, fraternal cooperation between our parties, we wish your congress a successful work.

Dear communists of Turkey, we believe that the decisions approved in your congress will give a new impulse for strengthening the struggle of your people for a democratic renewal and increasing fighting power and influence among the masses of your party.

With communist greetings,  
Socialist Unity Party of Germany  
Central Committee  
General Secretary  
Erich Honecker

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Turkey also received messages of greetings for the 5th Congress from following fraternal parties:  
Communist Party of Czechoslovakia,  
Socialist Workers' Party of Hungary,  
Communist Party of Austria,  
Socialist Party of Australia,  
Communist Party of Canada,  
Communist Party of Egypt,  
Communist Party of Greece,  
Communist Party of India,  
Communist Party of Iraq,  
Italian Communist Party,  
Communist Party of Palestine,  
Swiss Party of Labour,  
Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin.







